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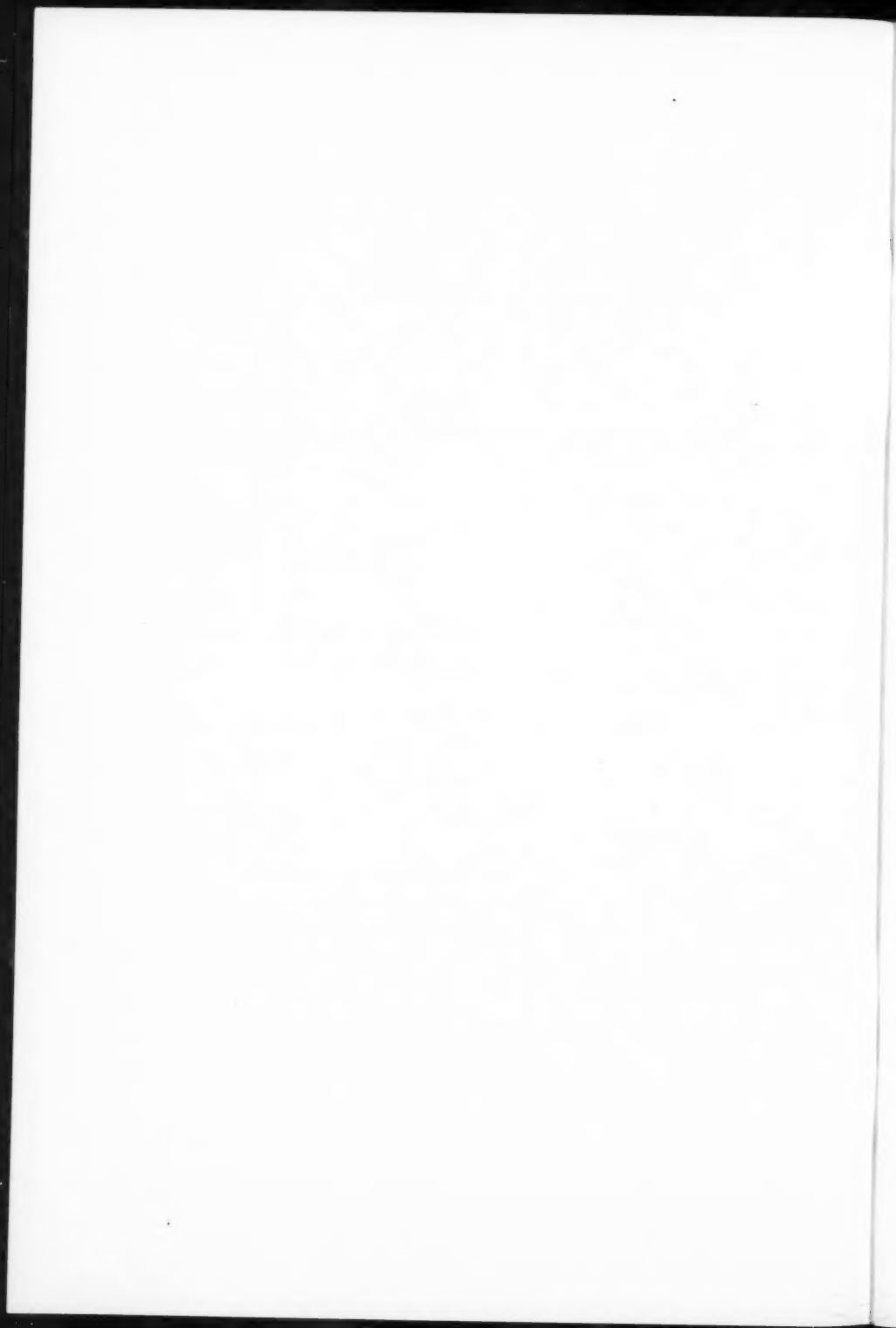
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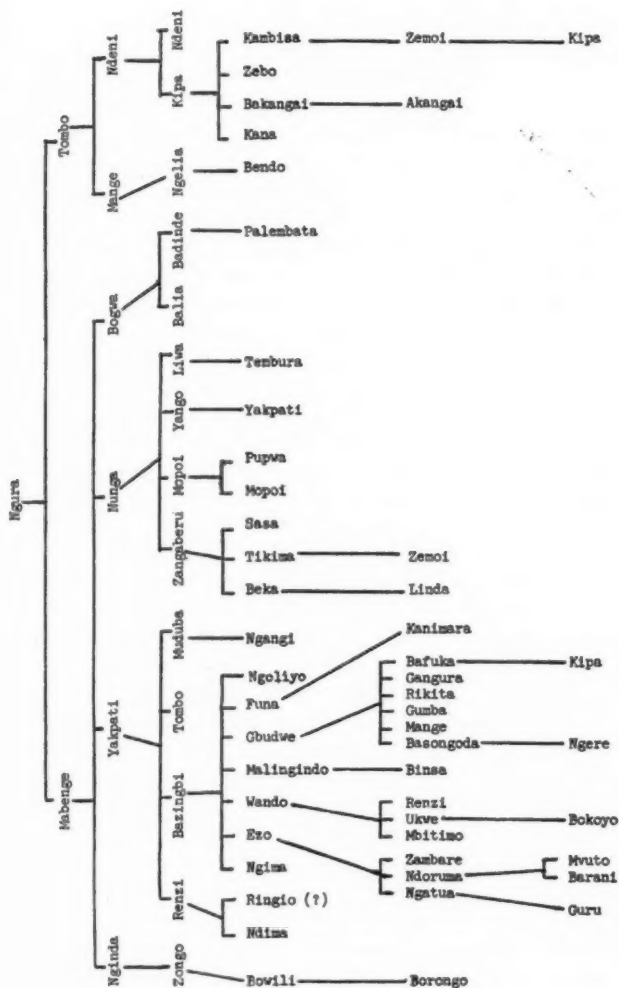


ZANDE KINGS AND PRINCES

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD
All Souls College, Oxford

All who have been in contact with the Azande people of Central Africa have remarked on the bearing of their rulers, the Avongara clan, and they have often given us a sketch of their appearance and an estimate of their character and intelligence. I have myself met many members of this ruling house and I have been most impressed by—in general, for not all are alike—their proud bearing, their politeness, fastidiousness, reticence, even shyness; their intelligence, sharpened by suspicion of Europeans to cunning; their conservative clinging to tradition, a demeanour and manners unsurpassed by any aristocracy in the world, even among those who have no political position, and a superiority which requires for its acceptance neither display of force nor ornament; the ability to take in a situation and assess a man quickly and decisively, combined with, among those with power, the capacity to act decisively and with great severity—some would say cruelty—when that is required; and in some cases a nervous aloofness, a self-consciousness, a loneliness, which are sometimes almost pathological; and a tendency in middle age to corpulency, the result of a life of ease, absence of exercise, venery, and beer. These characteristics are, of course, a product of their social status. Even under European rule their prestige was quite considerable and their power, though curbed by alien governments, was strongly exercised behind the scenes; their subjects, in spite of European efforts to undermine their dominion, continuing to submit to them to the point of subservience. I never heard a commoner question their authority.

I was not, of course, able to meet an independent Zande king. All had lost their independence over twenty years before I first visited their country in 1927. I obtained detailed accounts of one such king, Gbudwe, from many of his erstwhile subjects, among whom I lived for many months in the Sudan (what was the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan). I have recently published a descrip-



Most of the kings and princes mentioned by name in the text (the spelling of the names is not always that of the author).

tion of his appearance and character,¹ and I repeat it here, adding a further assessment of his character based on a number of Zande appreciations. The period to which the description refers is round about 1900, when Gbudwe was a man of some 65 years, and the speaker is Kuagbiaru, who must then have been about 18 years of age.

"Gbudwe was a short man, though not excessively short. He was short with the shortness of (his son) Gangura, though he was stout also, not, however, unpleasantly stout. He was stout with the stoutness of a man whose flesh is loose with it. His breasts protruded like those of a woman, but not altogether like a woman's for they were a man's breasts. His wrists were wrinkled with fat, and his forearm was like a man's shank. His eyes were little protruding eyes, and they sparkled like stars. When he looked at a man in anger they were terrible; then they went grey like ashes.

"His straw hat was woven with great skill and it had a wide brim all round it; and cowries were woven around the base of the crown, completely encircling it. He took two hat-pins, beaten out of white metal, and he stuck in one on each side. His hat was marvellously fine, and when he wore it, it suited him splendidly, and he looked a great king indeed. When he approached people from afar you could not mistake Gbudwe. He was a marvellous prince.

"Gbudwe never wore black-stained barkcloth, only red barkcloth, and white barkcloth, which is that barkcloth which is soft. Gbudwe, on account of his wearing his barkcloth short, wore it wide at the sides. He tied it to the top of his thigh so that it did not reach to his knees. He wore it short but it covered both flanks, and (when seating himself) he hitched it up so that the extremities of it spilled over on to his thighs. He took his red cloth which he had brought back with him from (captivity among) the Arabs and tied it round his middle so that the end of it spilled over his barkcloth.

"He was on the whole light-coloured, but not excessively so. When he went into court his dogs took position on either side of him. He carried two spears in his hand, and the third thing

¹ "A History of the Kingdom of Gbudwe," Zaire, 1956. There is an error in the genealogical table printed as p. 62 of this article, viz., Palembang is the son of Balia, not of Badinde.

he held was his curved ceremonial knife. Those who wanted to see him climbed up trees to see him, because other people shut out their view. A man who had not seen Gbudwe climbed a tree to have a look at him. Gbudwe was a finelooking man. He would never file his teeth, they formed an unbroken line in his mouth, and they were white."

Other Azande have described him to me in much the same terms. They have said that the colour of his skin was dull copper, or as Azande put it, the colour of the leaf of the *nonga* plant, and the skin was smooth and soft. His plump hands ended in long nails, which he is said to have dug into the necks of erring wives. He swung his arms in a swagger cultivated by all princes. His facial features were more like those of Gangura (in 1928) than those of any other of his sons, especially in the little black moustache and short bristling beard turning to grey. His hair was grey-black like Gangura's, and he resembled Gangura also in stature—though he was a little taller and also bulkier and stouter—and in loudness of voice and vehemence of speech. In his stoutness he resembled rather his son Rikita, though he was not so pot-bellied. His teeth were as white as those of his eldest son Basongoda in his young days. His legs were also like those of Basongoda, short and stumpy; or perhaps even more like those of his nephew Kanimara. I was told that when he was younger his hair was invariably dressed but that in his later years it was sometimes dressed but usually just cut short, the fashion adopted by his two eldest sons, Basongoda and Mange. When dressed, in the manner described in the text above, the skin of a monkey (*ngarangara*) was attached to the hoop so that it fell over the nape of his neck and his shoulders. In wearing his barkcloth short, so that his knees and part of his thighs were exposed, and as a close fit, he did not follow the fashion of many princes of his day of wearing their barkcloth loose and falling to the calf, or in the case of some princes, such as his sons Basongoda and Gumba, to the ankle. When threatening war he would pull the barkcloth right up his thighs.

Gbudwe generally carried a carved ceremonial knife in his hand and would lay it across his knees as he sat in court, and he used to assist himself in rising from his stool by pressing it on the ground. Princes seldom carried a spear, but Gbudwe used

to walk about his homestead with one. He never smoked but would offer a pipe to others, and he let them smoke in his presence. Though fond of beer, he drank in moderation and was never seen intoxicated by his subjects.

Gbudwe was the Zande ideal of what a king should be and his name epitomizes to them all that they are proud of in their past and all that they have lost by European conquest: their independence and the stability of their political and domestic institutions—all that they look back to with pride, longing, and regret. I have never met a Zande who had experienced Gbudwe's rule who did not speak of it with nostalgia and as better than the foreign administration which took its place. Before and after Gbudwe's death is not to them just a difference in time before and after an event. It is a deep moral cleavage of which they speak. It is well to remember that what these older men treasure most is associated with Gbudwe's name when we are trying to assess the manner of man he was, for all who can tell about him were grown up before his death and had been educated in the old traditions, and this early training of my informants may have led them to paint the past in too rosy a hue.

In the estimate of his character which follows I have relied on the general impression I received from hearing many accounts of him by Azande but also, and more, on stories of incidents in which he figured in which his actions speak for themselves and have not been recounted to me either to express a judgment or to evoke one.

Gbudwe was stern and sometimes morose, on account, Azande say, of misfortunes he suffered in his youth and the humiliations he endured when a prisoner of the Egyptian Government. But he was harsh only with wrong-doers—disloyal people, sorcerers, witches, adulterers, and those who flouted custom or good manners—and though he inspired fear among his subjects, he could unbend, and his bluff, open, sometimes even boisterous talk appealed to the men at court. He did not consider it—such was the custom of princes—beneath his dignity to banter and jest with a few of his old and trusted courtiers: Barafuya of the Angbapiyo clan, Baiparu of the Avokida clan, Kaleka of the Abakunde clan, and, above all, Zengendi of the Angumbi clan, all of good Mbomu (true Zande) stock; though I was told that

only Zengendi dared to play physically with him, clasping his master in mimic fighting and pulling him by the hand. Apart from these old courtiers, he joked with no one, though he relaxed towards his younger brothers Bagboro, Ngbutuma, Bagisa, Mukisa, Ngbima, and Gongosi, and treated them with kindness and condescension when they came to visit him. He was courteous to all and held aloof from none, and of his sons and the governors of provinces in my day, Azande say that in this respect Gangura and Ngere are most like him, and his great-grandson Nginde perhaps the least like him, for Nginde is conceited and makes no effort to converse with the faithful old men of his court who served his grandfather Basongoda.

Some of his actions may strike us as being ruthless or savage, but Azande point out that it requires a strong hand to rule them. They admired also the frankness of his severity, for he attained his ends openly and not with the secrecy and slyness which, his subjects say, Wando and his son Renzi employed; nor did he practice, or allow others to practice, the insane cruelties carried out on the orders of some princes, notably Mvuto son of Nduruma. Nor have I ever heard subjects accuse him of injustice, though they accused other princes of it. They say that, on the contrary though he ordered many executions (in fact, I have never been able to obtain details of more than a few, and I think Azande exaggerate the number) he often allowed a man whom he might have slain to pay a fine instead; and he saved from death men whom his courtiers wanted to kill. It is evident also that in the case of some brutal executions they were carried out in his name but without his authorization, for absolute monarch though he was, if his followers killed a man for some offence in his name he was compelled to accept the situation. His best friend, the commoner governor Zengendi, was killed without his knowledge. Moreover, powerful though he was, he had only limited means of controlling what happened outside his court, and there can be no doubt that influential men sometimes bullied those whom they administered in his name, especially such persons, mostly members of subjugated tribes, who never came to court and had no one there to represent their interests. It seems that Gbudwe took the view that it served them right if they stayed away from his court and the polished

society which frequented it and were ignorant and stupid enough to hide like wild beasts in the bush. Some discipline was required to civilize these barbarians and it was to impose it that he entrusted his elders with administration under his authority. What went on in provinces ruled by his sons was none of his affair, unless his own immediate subjects were involved. If we are to have sympathy for any of Gbudwe's followers it should, I think, be for some of his old commoner governors, whom, so far as I could understand, he sometimes ousted from their positions somewhat arbitrarily and occasionally executed, and then replaced them by his own sons; but all kings did the same; Azande regarded the appointment of a commoner to a governorship as a political hazard.

Gbudwe always gave clear and decisive judgments when cases were brought before him, which is what Azande like, and they compare him in this respect with his eldest son Basongoda, who vacillated in his judgments. Basongoda was of a quiet and gentle disposition and was anxious to prevent bloodshed, and executions at his court were almost unknown; but in his desire to spare or to placate people he wavered in his judgments and gave what became known as *nghanga* Basongoda, Basongoda-decisions, attempts to show that neither disputant was entirely in the right or that both were in the right. Azande do not like this. Another trait which greatly gratified Gbudwe's subjects was that, whilst he destroyed without mercy any one who attempted to seduce one of his wives, he did not try to obtain the wives of his subjects by force or through a trumped-up charge or, relying on his immunity, to seduce them. Here again, they contrast his behaviour with that of other princes, such as his grandson Ngere, whom otherwise they like. His generosity was far-famed and none left his court because they were hungry or did not receive the gifts they came to solicit or because they were gratuitously ill-used by the men at court, as they are said to have fled from the courts of his sons Gumba and Bafuka. Gbudwe exemplified, Azande say, these three virtues which they demand in their rulers if they are not to change their allegiance: vigorous and decisive judgement of cases, no seduction of the wives of their subjects, and openhandedness. If a prince has these virtues, Azande will put up with a good deal of severity.

But Gbudwe had other virtues as well. He had a reputation as a young man for remarkable boldness and personal courage. It was by boldness that he wrested his father's kingdom from the hands of his eldest brother Ngima, and we have Schweinfurth's testimony in support of Zande statements that he was a courageous fighter and did not, like most princes, keep well to the rear of a battle.² His subjects have often told me how excellent a father he was to his sons. He was severe with them, as they think a father should be, and he never allowed them to take any liberties with him; and if they ill-treated commoners at his court or he thought they were trying to seduce his wives, he drove them away from it. But they always came back again, for he was deeply fond of them and he never put any of them to death or mutilated them as, it is said, Renzi and others did. From the beginning of his reign to the end of it, a period of almost 40 years, there was no rebellion in his kingdom; neither did he have to take steps to anticipate a rebellion by murdering his kinsmen; nor was there civil war between his sons. I do not think that any other Zande kingdom enjoyed such internal tranquility, and it is without doubt at least in part due to Gbudwe's personality and the high regard in which his subjects held him that this was the case.

The Azande also liked him because he was not too self-conscious, was unpretentious in his demeanour, and did not humiliate them. They say that he did not laugh often partly because he was of a morose temperament but also partly because of a habit cultivated by princes of hiding their teeth and the interior of their mouths from the gaze of the public; so when Gbudwe was amused he would give a little cough, half cough and half laugh, and smile, putting at the same time his hand or his fly-whisk up to his mouth to cover it, a customary modesty on the part of royalty. But they add that Gbudwe, who showed none of the aloofness of his son Mange and his brother-in-law Tembura and of other princes in the presence of their subjects, would on occasions shout and laugh so that everyone could see his mouth and teeth, whereas Mange and Basongoda kept their hands incessantly before their mouths, partly because their teeth were not so good, but mainly to shield themselves from their subjects.

² Georg Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, 1873, vol. 2, pp. 219-20.

It was the custom of some kings, of whom Tembura was one, to have a trumpeter standing at their side to trumpet whenever they laughed, the sound of the trumpet being called "the king's laughter." Likewise, Gbudwe would never be carried on the shoulders of his subjects as were his son Gumba and his grandson Kipa, who seldom walked in public. I was told that his elder brother Wando and some other of the princes in what is now the Belgian Congo never walked in their kingdoms but were always carried on the shoulders of servants. Gbudwe considered this practice foolish. Nor did he exact the crawling obeisance which some princes received from their subjects, though probably only those on the periphery of Zandeland where the vast majority of the population were conquered peoples or their descendants, and not in the heart of Zandeland where the Ambomu, or true Azande, element was more considerable. Gbudwe was treated with far less formal subservience by his followers than were his sons Mange and Rikita, his cousin Tembura son of Liwa, and, according to some accounts, of Kipa son of Ndeni, by theirs. The subjects of these kings were mostly conquered foreigners. Court custom in their kingdoms prescribed that a man who wished to speak with the king or make a case before him should crawl from a long distance to approach him. Gbudwe's erstwhile subjects have told me that it might be alright for barbarians (*auro*) to humiliate themselves in this way but that Gbudwe would never have permitted the true Azande of his court to act in so undignified a manner—they bent only slightly when approaching him—and had he done so they would have left him to follow princes with more respect for the traditional relationship between noble and commoner. Relations between king and subject at court are said to have been less formal still at the courts of Gbudwe's elder brothers Wando and Malingindo.

Gbudwe was a stickler for tradition, and in this he was naturally supported by the older men and the chief commoner families. He refused to imitate those princes who dressed like Arabs. Indeed he was hostile to anything the Arabs did, and he always spoke contemptuously of them. Any form of magic was intolerable to him unless it had been known to his father. He approved of witchdoctors and other diviners (*aboro atoro*) and summoned

them to divine for him, and he sent for the female leech Nambili to treat the ailments of his wives. Many forms of magic employed by Azande today, were not known to Gbudwe's subjects during his lifetime, and of those that were known one can count on the fingers of one's hands those of which he is said to have approved: war-magic, vengeance-magic, thunder-magic against wrongdoers, secrecy-magic (*gbau*) to aid the pursuit of vengeance, hunting-magic (*bingiya*), medicines for closing gardens against theft, magic for protection of the person (*zuna*), medicines for increasing crops, medicines to increase sexual potency, and medicines to attract followers. He used some of these forms of magic himself, getting old commoners to bring the medicines and perform the rites, except in the case of the war-medicines, which he administered himself, from the large bongo horn in which they were kept, to his elders and his company commanders. He was suspicious of all kinds of magic other than those I have mentioned, and his hostility to some of those used by people in the kingdoms to the south of his own was probably the main reason for their not having entered his kingdom—such bad medicines as *togoligaka* and *ngwa gberesa kpolo*—by his subjects until after his death. The medicine he disliked most was *menzere*, a medicine used in sorcery, and I was told that if anyone were known to possess it his death was certain. He refused to condone the practices of the magical secret societies which were entering Zandeland during the last few years of his life. He is said to have destroyed the lodges and the members of the only one which gained a footing in his own country. I was told that he even frowned on such harmless medicines as the *zelengbongo* whistle, which a man blows to kill anyone who may be injuring him. Gbudwe is said to have asked why a man should have recourse to a magical whistle for protection when he gave all the protection against injury that a man could desire and to have expressed the opinion that all this blowing of whistles only led to trouble. Nevertheless, he wore one or two whistles of an old type on his person.

Gbudwe was also violently opposed to circumcision, which the Azande took over from neighbouring peoples towards the end of last century, and he forbade the practice in his territories. His objection to it was that since neither he nor any of the

married men were circumcised they might be subjected to secret ridicule among their womenfolk if circumcision became fashionable and all the younger men had undergone the operation. Circumcision was only practiced in his kingdom, as far as we know, after his death, when his sons lost much of their authority and were no longer able to prevent this, the secret societies, and other innovations from spreading among their subjects.

Much more could be written about Gbudwe, but what has been said is perhaps enough to give some indication of the man's character. In summary, I do not think I am stating other than the general opinion of those Azande who experienced Gbudwe's rule when I say that he was regarded with fear, it is true, but also with something wholly different, respect. He was respected as a just man, a man without vanity, a brave man, and a man who hated deceit, shameful conduct, slander, jealousy and envy, and who loved honesty and honour. He must also have been a man of great physical stamina, of intellectual vigour, and, it may be added, of unusual virility, for he was begetting children up to the time of his death in about his seventieth year.

So much is part of what I learnt from Azande about Gbudwe the man. It seemed to me that it might be worthwhile to compare these secondhand impressions with such descriptions as we have of other Zande kings by Europeans, kings they met before their power was broken. They may be in part superficial impressions which, perhaps, sometimes tell us as much about the writer as about his subject, but taken together they give us a fairly vivid picture of an old-time Zande king.

We start with the Italian hunter and trader Carlo Piaggia, who visited the Azande from 1863 to 1865, living for most of the time as the guest of King Tombo, son of King Yakpati. His verbal account of his adventures was put together by his friend the Marchese O. Antinori. He says of King Tombo: "Tombo era un uomo nella sua piena virilità, di alta e svelta persona, di aspetto altero, ma non spirante alcuna ferocia. Aveva la sua lussureggiante chioma disposte. Le sue membra eran robuste; la tinta della pelle olivastro-ramacea, e si copriva d'una corteccia d'albero conciata di colore rossastro e che teneva legata ai fianchi mediante cintura. Si presento al Piaggia colla destra armata da tre lunghe lance, tenendo colla sinistra quella specie di arpa che

essi chiamano kondi."³

Later on he reports:

"Il capo di coteste tribù, che il mercante ed il cacciatore arabo chiamo sultano, si distingue dai suoi subordinati per essere seguito da un numeroso stuolo dei suoi addetti, per il suo incesso grave ed autorevole, e per la sua foggia di vestire. Egli infatti porta legata un' ampia scorza d'albero che conciata somiglia perfettamente ad una stoffa, e che dal ginocchio si piega tra le coscie in su per le reni annodandosi ad apposita cintura: in sulla testa si adatta, bizzarramente disposte, un gran numero di penne dai fulgidi colori, e spesso le blu e rosse ali del verde cuculo a bianco ciuffo (*Corythayx leucolophus*), sono da lui molto disiderate. Alcuni fra loro aggiungono alle braccia ed agli stinchi armille di ferro e di rame, ed anche infilano al collo corone di duri noccioli di frutta, o di denti di animali carnivori, o di grossi serpenti e di pesci."⁴

He further remarks:

"Ad incutere timore ai suoi suditi i capi fingono talvolta di essere presi da un' agitazione e da una specie di frenesia di sangue. Essi figgono in tale stato i loro asguardi feroci in quelli che li circondano, ovvero si pongono errabondi quasi alla ricerca di qualche vittima, ed al piu piccolo sinistro evento, sfogano gli impeti della loro ira simulata col dare a qualcuno perbino la morte. E credibile che un tale contegno sia adoperato onde essere temuti e rispettati dai loro sudditi. Il Piaggia ci narra come il capo Tombo desse piu volte lo spettacolo d'una simile scena."⁵

Such scenes of cold-blooded murder, if we can accept the relation of them, are out of keeping with the character of a Zande king. Some kings may indeed have ordered executions and cruel punishments of commoners for trivial offences or for their personal advantage, but I have never heard of such behaviour as Piaggia describes. It is true that a passage in Schweinfurth's account suggests that kings occasionally behaved in such a manner: "The defiant imperious bearing of the chiefs alone constitutes their outward dignity, and there are some who

³ O. Antinori, "Viaggi di O. Antinori e C. Piaggia nell' Africa Centrale," Boll. della Soc. Geog. Ital. 1868, p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

in majestic deportment and gesture might vie with any potentate of the earth. The dread with which they inspire their subjects is incredible: it is said that for the purpose of exhibiting their power over life and death they will occasionally feign fits of passion, and singling out a victim from the crowd, they will throw a rope about his neck, and with their own hands cut his throat with one stroke of their jagged scimitar."⁶ But Schweinfurth makes it clear that he did not witness this, and it seems probable that he was recounting what his Arab friends had told him or possibly that he here, as I think elsewhere, made use of Piaggia's account. The only other early writer who describes a Zande king executing people with his own hands is Captain Burrows, a British officer who served in the Belgian Administration of the Congo from 1894 to 1898. He writes: "The Azandé generally kill condemned criminals with the lance. I remember once an Azandé chief caught one of his wives attempting to run away with another man. They were both taken and brought back, and next morning, before an assembly of the people summoned to witness the ceremony they were tied to trees. The chief himself, after haranging the assembled multitude, at a distance of fifty yards from the prisoners, began to dance, stopping every now and then to throw a lance at either the woman or the man. This he continued to do, approaching nearer and nearer, until both culprits had been transfixed by two or three lances. A chief would not hesitate to mutilate his own son for such an outrage, inflicting the usual penalty by cutting off both hands at the wrists."⁷ This passage suggests that Burrows witnessed the event, but it is not clear why, if such was the case, he did not prevent it.

The famous German traveler and botanist Georg Schweinfurth, who visited the most easternly part of Zandeland in 1870, met two Zande kings, Ngangi son of Muduba and Wando son of Bazingbi, the first being the friend of Schweinfurth's Nubian protector Muhammad 'abd al-Sammad and the second being at that time hostile to Muhammad. Of the first he tells us: "I found him perfectly naked except for a little apron that he wore. He was sitting on a Monbutto stool, quite unarmed, and with no

⁶ Georg Schweinfurth, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 21-2.

⁷ Guy Burrows, *The Land of the Pigmies*, 1898, pp. 66-7.

insignia whatever of his rank. There were, indeed, some twenty or thirty natives who were armed and kept guard in the outer court, but apart from this any pretension to state was entirely wanting."⁸ He gives no description of Wando beyond observing that he wore a shirt, but only to please the Arabs. As soon as they withdrew, he took it off. He says that this was the common practice with all the nobility. They wore only barkcloth and would not dress in Arab clothes even when they had the opportunity to acquire them.⁹ Schweinfurth also tells us that the leopard-skin was the insignium of royalty among the Azande, that only those of royal blood had the privilege of covering the head with a skin, usually the skin of the serval, and that the sons of kings wore their barkcloth looped up on one side so that one leg was left entirely bare.¹⁰

Romolo Gessi Pasha, the heroic governor of the Bahr al-Ghazal in the years 1878 to 1880, has left us a description of Ndoruma, whom he calls Mdarama, son of Ezo. Writing in 1879, he says: "About a month ago news came to Dem Suleiman that a great Sandeh chief was on his way with a numerous suite. I gave orders that he should be received with due honour, and festive preparations were made. Mdarama soon arrived. He is a man about thirty-five years of age, more than six feet high, well proportioned, with broad shoulders, intelligent expression and a perpetual smile. He examined our Remington rifles, the cannon, and the depots of ammunition and cloths with the greatest curiosity. He then presented me with forty large tusks. I gave orders that he should choose some clothing from our stores. He was shown the best Arab clothes, but said that he wished to be dressed like a Frank (European), for he was no Jelabba (Arab trader). Then he wished to see a cannon fired, and I hastened to gratify him, but when the piece went off he fell to the ground from fear."¹¹

Ndoruma's determination not to wear Arab clothes must have weakened, for when Wilhelm Junker, the eminent Russo-German explorer who travelled in Central Africa, chiefly in Zandeland, from 1875 to 1886, met him in 1880 he was dressed in a bizarre

⁸ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 441-2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 502.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 256 and 6.

¹¹ Romolo Gessi Pasha, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, 1892, p. 349.

assortment of clothing, including the Egyptian galabiyeh, and tarbush put on in Junker's honour. "On his first appearance," Junker wrote, "Ndoruma presented a somewhat comical sight, arrayed in an eccentric costume, which he had apparently put on expressly for this occasion. He had squeezed his long muscular legs into a pair of crimson trousers which were far too short and narrow for brawny limbs, and which seemed to have at one time formed part of a huzzar's uniform. Over this he wore an Arab galabiyeh, which was also far too tight a fit, compressing shoulders and arms into the smallest compass, and leaving chest and paunch fully exposed. Yet so calm and dignified was his bearing, so imposing his colossal figure, that I soon forgot his laughable appearance and at once became deeply interested in this striking personality.

"He involuntarily reminded me of the Mangbattu king, Munsa, as described by Schweinfurth in his *Heart of Africa*. On the countenance was stamped the unmistakable Niam-Niam type—sharp, vigorous traits, animated eyes bespeaking a resolute spirit, combined with prominent cheek bones and broad nostrils, which imparted a strange wildness to his Negro features. The lips, however, were but moderately everted, and were moreover relieved by thin mustachios, and a shaggy beard merging upwards in a sparse growth of whiskers. The hair, arranged Zandeh fashion, though somewhat carelessly, in tresses, projected under a tarbush round the occiput. Like all the Niam-Niam chiefs of the early period, Ndoruma scorned all personal ornament, his ordinary dress being the customary "rokko" which is prepared from the bark of a species of fig (*Urostigma*), and which is generally worn by many peoples of Central Africa. The Zandehs wear a comparatively small garment of this type, which is brought forward between the legs and fastened behind by a girdle, so as to spread out on both sides, and fold round the hips like a loose loin-cloth. In this national rocco Ndoruma's tall handsome figure showed to the best advantage. When seated he affected a somewhat careless attitude, though by no means awkward, but on the contrary displaying a certain natural dignity in every movement.

"In recent years Ndoruma had been brought into frequent contact with the Arabs and Khartoum traders, and had already

acquired some familiarity with their language. Some eighteen months before our interview his independence had been broken in war by Rafai Agha, the Mohammedan governor of Ziber's former zeribas in the west Zandeh lands, a person who had played a leading part in the history of the Egyptian Sudan. But though compelled to recognize the suzerainty of the Nubians, Ndoruma, like the vanquished chiefs, had gladly welcomed the new relations growing up under Gessi's administration."¹²

Elsewhere Junker says of Ndoruma: "Ndoruma's dwellings, which lay scarcely five minutes from my station of Lacrima, were in no way distinguished from the ordinary native huts. Ndoruma himself, in accordance with the good old Zandeh custom, displayed the greatest simplicity in all things. His favourite dress was the 'rokko', which had certainly seen better days, and which was fastened by a stout twisted bast cord. On his visits he was followed about by two or three boys carrying an old musket, the revolver I had given him, and a large Mangbattu *trumbash*."¹³

Junker met a number of other Zande kings and princes. One of these was Ngatua, Ndoruma's elder brother (Junker says that he was his uncle), who went about accompanied by an old red-brown Zande hound and a red-haired ape which rode on the back of the dog.¹⁴ Another, belonging to the Nunga branch of the Zande royal house, was Zemio, a man who spoke Arabic and had adopted certain Arab habits. Junker wrote of him: "This vassal of the Egyptian Government is a son of Tikima and although not more than about thirty years old, is already somewhat corpulent, as many Zandeh princes are later in life. His small uniformly rounded body supports a typical round head with an expression almost of kindliness and benevolence, at least so far as it is possible to draw a conclusion from a Negro's physiognomy as to his inner sentiments. His chubby oval countenance is lit up with the intelligent glance of large piercing eyes. A scanty growth of hair covers chin and upper lip, while the broad nostrils and prominent cheek-bones recall the Niam-Niam type, though his Arab garb with red shoes, tarbush, and

¹² Wilhelm Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years 1875-1878, 1891*, p. 101.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

cropped hair almost suggested a half-caste Negro. Even at this first interview he gained my sympathy, a sympathy which I was able to retain during long years of friendly intercourse."¹⁵

This same Zemio or Semio or Zemoi became later a strong supporter of the Belgians. One of their officers, Jules Milz, described him in 1891: "C'est un homme d'une quarantaine d'années, de taille moyenne et assez corpulent, doué d'une physionomie très intelligente. Il rappelle l'aspect des fonctionnaires du gouvernement égyptien. Il a une grande distinction dans son attitude."¹⁶ Another officer of the Belgian forces in the Congo, Gustave Gustin, wrote: "En 1891 Semio semblait avoir cinquante ans. Il ne savait ni lire ni écrire, mais avait un scribe arabe ou katip. Semio n'était pas quémandeur; il était au contraire d'une générosité vraiment désintéressée. Il saluait à la manière arabe le Blanc qu'il ne connaissait pas suffisamment; il prenait entre les mains celle qu'on lui tendait, la portait ensuite aux lèvres, puis au front et enfin à la poitrine, en prononçant avec recueillement le salut arabe. Quant à ceux qu'il connaissait mieux, il leur serrait chaleureusement la main entre les siennes, pendant que sa figure s'épanouissait sous un bon sourire."¹⁷

Junker also met Zemio's uncle, Sasa, one of the first kings in the Uele region to make submission to the Belgians. "Zassa, brother of Zemio's father, Tikima, had for years maintained active relations with the Nubians, was familiar with Arabic, and, like Zemio, had adopted the Arabo-Nubian dress, so that his features alone recalled his Zandeh nationality. He was considerably older than Zemio, had a dignified carriage, and inspired confidence by his outward appearance and courteous manners."¹⁸

Perhaps the king best described in the literature whom Junker met was Bazingbi's son Wando, whom Schweinfurth had met ten years earlier. His son Fero or Renzi presented himself to Junker on Nov. 10th 1880 and told him that his father was too fat to walk any great distance but hoped to see Junker on his route to Ndoruma's.¹⁹ This is how Junker describes their meeting: "At one of these groups of huts were several hundred Zan-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 197. Also p. 203.

¹⁶ R. P. L. Lotar, *La Grande Chronique de L'Uele*, 1946, p. 61.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁸ Junker, 1891, p. 309.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

dehs among whom I was at once able to single out the aged Wando by his corpulent figure. Like all members of the old Zandeh dynasty, he despised princely adornments, and even his rokko was no better than those of his surrounding followers. His hand also grasped, not a warlike assegai, but a peaceful fly-fan! Our friendship was soon sealed, though he remained for some time absorbed in thought, which perhaps was natural enough, seeing that facing him sat his rebellious son, Hokwa."²⁰ Wando's brother Ngoliyo resembled Wando but was younger and less corpulent.²¹ There is lack of agreement between this portrait of Wando and that drawn by that remarkable man Eduard Schnitzer, a doctor from Silesia who took the Muslim name of Emin and was at the time he met Wando governor of the Equatorial Province of the Egyptian Sudan. He wrote in 1882 "Wando, well known to readers of Dr. Schweinfurth's book, is a well-built, athletic fellow; he has a dark skin and a completely shorn head, which distinguishes him from the other Nyam-Nyam, who think so much of their frisures. The *rokko* trousers of the Monbuttu constitute his only dress. He was accompanied by three of his fourteen sons, all wearing the handsome hide-dress of the Zande, and tall straw hats decorated with parrots', feathers. The indispensable trumpeters accompanied them, carrying gigantic horns and trumpets made out of elephant's tusks and decorated with leopard-skins."²² Emin does not seem to have had a high opinion of Wando, for in speaking about his son Mbitimo he says that it was in the young man's favour that he was totally unlike his father. Emin also speaks of a prince called Mbrú, whom I have not been able to identify, as "a very aged, jovial fellow, with long white hair and a beard dyed red."²³

If Wando was corpulent in 1880 he was a monstrosity in April 1892 when the Belgian Commander Guillaume Van Kerckhoven met him on the lower Kibali. Milz described the spectacle: "Une troupe déboucha en face de notre poste, puis la foule s'écarta afin de livrer passage à une masse animée s'appuyant

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

²² *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, edited and annotated by Professor G. Schweinfurth, Professor F. Ratzel, Dr. R. W. Felkin, and Dr. G. Hartlaub, 1888, p. 374.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

sur un immense bâton et s'affalant lourdement sur une chaise qu'on s'empresse de placer derrière elle."²⁴ Van Kerckhoven sent Gustin forwards to greet him. Van Kerckhoven himself describes Wando thus: "Il me restait du grand et fort guerrier qu'un volumineux paquet de vieilles chairs, cachées par une chemise loqueteuse en kaniki, surmontées d'une tête grisonnante qu'entourait une bande d'étoffe d'une blancheur plus que douteuse. Bien que les yeux fussent noyés dans la tête et semblassent sans expression, on surprenait par moments son regard s'illuminant d'une flamme vive et intelligente. Chose curieuse, les dents étaient toutes à leur place, blanches et en parfait état de conservation. Les mains étaient très grasses, les doigts assez effilés, terminés par des ongles en deuil de deux à trois centimètres de longueur. Signe de race, disent les Avongara."²⁵ Gustin wrote in his journal on this occasion. "Par déférence pour le vieux chef vongara, Semio ne voulut pas s'asseoir sur une chaise semblable à celle dont Wando faisait usage; il se contenta d'un simple pliant, tandis que les fils de Wando s'asseyaient sur des peaux de léopard. Pendant que l'Inspecteur élaborait le traité à conclure avec Wando, celui-ci, très animé, retroussait sa grande blouse bleue, pour se gratter le genou. Semio était fort ennuyé de l'inconvenance du vieux Sultan et rabaisait discrètement la blouse dès que la main coupable de Wando l'avait relevée." Wando presented to Van Kerckhoven his son Mbitimo and then his son Ukwe, "onctueux autant que Mbittima était brutal et emporté."²⁶

Other kings Junker met were Badinde son of Bogwa, who, he says, was aged and a man of calm sound judgment, and his nephew Palembata, a young and arrogant fop. "At a subsequent interview," writes Junker, "Badinde put me many other questions in civil and criminal jurisprudence, some of which I found it very difficult to answer; but in many things he himself displayed sound judgment, as well as a sincere desire to act in accordance with right and justice. Some of his difficulties had reference to the victims of the universal belief in witchcraft, and he evidently seemed to fear that perhaps many suffered inno-

²⁴ Lotar, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

cently."²⁷ Junker has left us also descriptions of two of the sons of the famous King Kipa, Kana and Bakangai. "Kanna was of robust appearance, and less corpulent than many of his brothers. The expression of his sharply-chiselled, manly features, bespoke firmness, combined with a degree of restraint or reserve. Not a movement betrayed either surprise or pleasure at my appearance, although I was the first European he had ever set eyes on. A full beard, already somewhat grey, enframed his cheeks and chin, an indication of advanced years, for the Negro turns grey later in life than cultured peoples. Discarding all ornaments, the prince wore nothing but an apron of fig-tree bark, and a leopard-skin head-covering like Bakangai's, which, however, was rather spoilt by a fastening of white European shirt-buttons drawn round the forehead."²⁸ Prince Bakangai "was of low stature, with thick-set figure, very stout, with plenty of flesh about the neck, and in his fortieth year. His features had a kindly expression, despite the quick, piercing glance that betrayed the consciousness of power. The oval face was adorned by a short, bushy black beard, and he wore his hair, Mangbattu fashion, raised high above the crown and gathered behind, while his royal blood was indicated by a leopard-skin cap in form not unlike a bishop's mitre. But the effect was somewhat spoilt by a rag of blue cloth fastened round his forehead. Dispensing with all ornaments, he limited his costume to the rokko of fig-bark girdled round the waist."²⁹ Junker also says of him: "Bakangai lacked the enterprising spirit of his father, Kipa. For him the world was limited to his mbanga (court) and the hundred huts of his womenfolk. The short plundering expeditions against the Ababua and other southern tribes he allowed his sons to carry out. Only once in earlier years he had personally conducted a warlike expedition to the south."³⁰

The Italian officer and cartographer Gaetano Casati, who spent ten years (1879-1889) in Central Africa, very largely among the Azande, and who was in Zandeland at the same time as Junker, has also left us a portrait of these two kings. Of Kana, he says: "His ways and manners were harsh and rude, but he

²⁷ Junker, *op. cit.*, 1891, p. 200.

²⁸ Junker, *op. cit.*, 1892, pp. 21-2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

was sometimes frank. He was careless of his person and clothes. Though clever and brave, public opinion asserted that he was extremely avaricious." Casati says that he was of an obstinate temper.³¹ Of Bakangai, or Bakangoi, as he spells the name, he says that he was the second son of Kipa and one of the most powerful of the Zande princes; and that: "He was astute and clever, and the sturdiness of the barbarians was in him accompanied by an imitation of the courteous and kind manners which he had observed in the ivory merchants. He was little liked, and much feared by his subjects."³² Elsewhere, after remarking that in the despotic Zande states the welfare of the people much depended on the disposition of the ruler, he compares these two sons of Kipa: "Bakangoi makes his power heavily felt by his subjects, and is hated by them, but served as a matter of habit;" whereas "Kanna, firm in his intentions, but intelligent and prudent, conciliates the affection of his subjects."³³ Bakangai had adopted, at any rate superficially, some features of Arab culture: he "almost always wore dresses bought of the merchants. He had an Arab bed, with rich covers, elegant pillows, lamps, and all sorts of vessels and beads." Casati adds that "It is the general opinion among potentates of his rank that the greater number a king kills the stronger and more powerful he is; also that fear, not love, makes subjects obedient and faithful. In accordance with these ideas, he was severe and even cruel, and death was the punishment he inflicted for the least fault."³⁴ His son, Akangai or Akangoi was described by Casati as "an intelligent man, with a sad and serene look and kind manners."³⁵

Another of Junker's acquaintances was Yakpati son of Yango and grandson of Nunga, whose family and estates had greatly suffered at the hands of the Arabs. Nevertheless, he "still bore the unmistakable stamp of a Zandeh prince, his tall, manly figure reminding me of Ndoruma. With it he had also a calm, dignified bearing, a sound judgment, and a pride which was far more justified than the senseless arrogance of the Mangbattu princes. But these qualities are largely shared by the Zandeh

³¹ Gaetano Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha*, 1891, vol. I, p. 215.

³² Casati, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 198.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 199.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 211.

nation itself, and were doubly agreeable to me after my long intercourse with the cringing, importunate, and forward Mangbattu peoples."³⁶ Later, when Junker was among the Bantu in Uganda he recollected with nostalgia "the calm reflective temperament of the A-Zandeh princes."³⁷ And he more than once remarks how their princely bearing is found even among the children of a prince. Barani, a son of the Ndoruma mentioned earlier, "a mere stripling, who three years before was an inmate of his father's household, received me with a princely condescension, while two of his retainers kept fanning him, which excited in me a feeling more of amusement than anger. He had often been with Ndoruma to the Mudiriyeh (capital of a provincial governorate), where he acquired a good knowledge of Arabic."³⁸ Then Junker relates: "On the third day a short march led to the residence of Ngettua's son Guru, or Mange, a lad scarcely ten years old, who nevertheless gave me a stately reception, and gallantly discharged all his princely duties. The same evening the new carriers were all ready, and he also sent us dishes of porridge with accompaniments."³⁹ It is only rarely that Junker notes a lack of dignity among the Zande princes, as in the case of Gbudwe's eldest son Basongoda, of whom he says: "He was a genuine Zandeh, already advanced in years, and betraying little princely dignity."⁴⁰ Since he did not die, of sickness, till 32 years later and was not remarkably aged then, and his father did not die till 22 years later, and then by violence, he could not have been very advanced in years when Junker met him in 1883, but Junker showed good judgment in his assessment of his character, for the Azande of his father's kingdom regarded him as a weak character and a poor ruler.

Junker was attached to the manners and customs of the Zande princes of old times and deplored the changes he saw taking place in them, largely as a result of contact with Nubians and Arabs, especially in the west, where the contact was earliest and deepest. He laments that the western Avongara rulers had not only learnt to speak Arabic, but had also partly changed

³⁶ Junker, *op. cit.*, 1892, pp. 142-3.

³⁷ Junker, *op. cit.*, 1892, p. 482.

³⁸ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 313.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 317-8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

their way of life, for example, their dwellings were built on the Arab model.⁴¹ We have earlier noted that several of the western kings had in Junker's time already adopted Arab modes of dress. Of another, Pupwa (Junker's Pupo), son of Mopoi (Junker's Mopa) he reports that "He was a young man, who had acquired much of the Arab culture, and spoke Arabic fluently."⁴²

It was with pleasure, therefore, that Junker moved eastwards, where the people were still uncontaminated by the Arab way of life. "At Linda's mbanga (court) I again met genuine, old-fashioned Zande's, retaining their ancient usages, wearing coarse rokko garments, and adorning themselves with the skins of animals. At Zemio's the hankering after a show of Arab culture, which after all could lead only to partial results, had already effaced much of this primitive social system. But here the chiefs still presented themselves in their original elaborate head-dress, armed with shield and spear, as of old; and at the national gatherings they sang their melodious chants, in which, on this occasion, they glorified my arrival, and strove to give me proof of their friendly feeling. At the mbanga I was even present at a veritable musical concert, in which the huge and extremely simple instruments were certainly all alike, but nevertheless formed the counterparts to the already-described *marimba*."⁴³

Junker also greatly admired the simplicity of dress and manners of the older kings and was inclined to be critical of the younger generation. We have noted that he called Prince Palembata a "fop". Another princeling he met was Binsa, son of King Malingindo, a youth who, he says, lacked the dignity of the older Zande rulers and was a typical dandy of the rising generation. These young lordlings gave considerable attention to the adornment of their persons. "The hair especially is treated with amazing care, and at an expenditure of much time, built up in a great variety of head-dresses. The triumphs of our European dames in this respect are far surpassed by the rich diversity of these elaborate coiffures. The towering toupes, or the arrangement of narrow tresses clinging close to the head and falling in

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 311. All the principal princes in the Western part of Zandeland spoke Arabic of the time Europeans entered the country. (*Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Handbook: Bahr El Ghazal Province*, 1911, p. 23).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 307-8.

wreathes down to the shoulders, are often decked with cowrie shells, glass beads, little copper plates, and other trinkets. A favourite adornment of the forehead is a string of dogs' teeth—or of a small wild animal's, while the neck is encircled by diverse fine copper, iron or bead rings, and the like. But the most costly and highly-prized is an ivory ornament falling low down on the breast, and consisting of thirty or forty cylinders from one and a half to two and a half inches long, strung together according to their size, and terminating in a point downwards. The cylinders are supposed to represent the teeth of predatory animals, especially lions, which are very difficult to procure. Throughout the Zandeh lands the lion compared to the leopard is very rare, whereas in those regions where lions are numerous, leopards are seldom seen. These ivory ornaments, whose preparation with their primitive tools involves an amazing display of skill and patience, belong properly to an earlier, one might almost say a classical, period of native art, and are now possessed only by a privileged few.

"The toilet of the Zandeh fop is not complete without a little straw hat, which, as far as the form of the chignon allows, is set jauntily on the crown, and decked with a tuft of cocks' feathers slit up through the quills to let them waive more lightly on the breeze. The whole effect is also heightened by smearing the body with powdered red dyewood, or painting it with the juice of gardenia."⁴⁴

We have one other person to consider in Junker's account, Ringio or Ringa. He was at one time a servant of the Welsh trader John Petherick, the first European to reach the confines of Zandeland, in 1858. He later represented first Arab traders and then the Egyptian Government in the country of the Adio and Bombe (Makaraka) Azande, the most easterly extension of this people, whose ruler he became. Petherick says that he was the son of Gorea or Gorja, Shaikh of Beringi and grandson of Harquati, and that his brothers were Bashima and Basia.⁴⁵ Schweinfurth says that he was a brother of Indimma and a son of Renzi son of Yakpati.⁴⁶ Junker also says that he was Ndimma's

⁴⁴ *Idem.*, 1891, pp. 287-8.

⁴⁵ John Petherick, *Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa*, 1861, p. 473; Mr. and Mrs. Petherick, *Travels in Central Africa*, 1869, p. 62.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 36.

brother but gives his father's name as Ngerria; and he tells us that he had been captured in his boyhood and taken as a slave to Khartoum. Junker found him "an intelligent-looking robust negro forty years old, courteous in his demeanour, and evidently anxious to pass for a 'cultivated' Nubian."⁴⁷ Casati also met him and says of him: "Endowed with an iron hand and a great amount of good sense, he had succeeded in disciplining his people, who were not only naturally inclined to freedom, but also to disorder"; and that "He was a genial man and his manners were courteous and respectful. Wando, the great chief of the Zandeh of the west, had paid him a visit a short time previously, and he told me, evidently with great pleasure, of the reluctance of the chief to change his old customs and habits."⁴⁸ This Ringio served the Egyptian Government well, supplying them with troops and labourers. It was 4000 of his men who, at great cost to themselves, carried the sections of Gordon's steamers, Khedive and Nyanza, from Muggi to Dufile on the Nile when Gordon was Governor of the Equatorial Province. He was eventually murdered by agents of that same Government, and it is not surprising therefore that later his people showed some sympathy with the Dervishes. However, I include Ringio in this portrait gallery of the royal house with some misgivings, partly because there is divergence of opinion among our European authorities about whose son he was and also because I was told by a good Zande authority that he was a commoner of the Aboro clan. He might well have tried to persuade Arabs and Europeans that he was of noble birth. I can make no firm decision on this question, since I did not probe into it when I had the opportunity to do so.

In concluding Junker's testimony to the ability and character of the Zande ruling house of the Avongara clan I cite the reason, or one reason, he gives for their superior intellectual qualities: "The higher circles, princes and nobles are the most highly endowed with intellectual qualities. This is doubtless due to the fact that, despite his limited sphere of action, the Negro ruler is still compelled to think and act in his capacity as judge, law-giver, and captain, whereby his cerebral activity has more play

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, 1890, pp. 480 and 304.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 252-3.

than that of the common folk. To this must be added the fluency acquired by the long parliamentary speeches at the *mbanga*, a sort of witenagemote, where the winged word, often embellished with simile and metaphor, stimulates thought and promotes readiness of expression. The lower classes are doubtless also present at these assemblies, but in their slavish dependence assist only as dumb spectators, except when called upon to speak as plaintiff or defendant. Special gatherings and meetings of the commonalty to deliberate on any topic of general interest are unknown to these peoples. Every question is discussed at the place of assembly in the immediate vicinity of the royal residence, or at the *mbanga* (court) of the vassal chiefs.⁴⁹

I have earlier mentioned some of the kings and princes whom Casati met, as it seemed appropriate to place his impressions next to those of others when they were those of the same man. In Casati's case we have to remember that he had to rely on his memory as he lost all his notes when he was imprisoned by Kabarega, the king of the Banyoro, in Uganda. A letter he wrote to the Editor of the *Esploratore*, in September 1880, however, sets forth at the time of his meeting him his impressions of Zambare, brother of the aforementioned Ndoruma: "While writing, Ndoruma's brother arrived with a large following of dignitaries and about 100 porters bearing ivory to visit Gessi. His name was Zambaré, and he was about 25 years of age. His features were perfectly regular, and only his complexion, which was dark olive, made him look different from Europeans. His hair was long and wooly, and was entwined and ornamented with large beads. He had thin whiskers and a black beard some twelve inches long. He had round his neck a chain made of the seeds of *bogó*, the kernels of a wild fruit. His head-dress was formed of a monkey's skin with a thick plume of cock's feathers, resembling that of our Bersagliere, on the hinder part. Round his waist he wore a cord an inch thick, to which was attached a piece of barkcloth, the only stuff used by the Azande."⁵⁰ In his book he gives another description of the same man: "During my sojourn in Wau, the brother of the Sultan Mdarama, chief of an extensive territory inhabited by the Zandeh or Niam-Niam, came

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, 1891, p. 157.

⁵⁰ Gessi, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

to pay his respects to Gessi, with a numerous following of dignitaries and a hundred loads of ivory, and announced that his brother would shortly come in person, being desirous of continuing friendly relations. Zambara, who might be a man of twenty-five years of age, was of regular features and dark olive complexion, middle height, well-proportioned limbs, with a small mouth and not thick lips; boasting of plaited hair, adorned with large beads. He wore a necklace of seeds of wild fruit; his head was covered with a monkey-skin cap, from which hung a thick bunch of cock's feathers, that made him known as a chief of warriors at a glance. He was girt about the waist with a thick cord, to which was fastened a linen skirt, made from the broken bark of a fallen tree (sic!); it covered his body to the knees, and one corner of it was tucked up."⁵¹

Casati's opinion of two of the sons of Kipa, Kana and Bakan-gai, has already been given. He also met a third son, Prince Zebo, of whom he wrote: "He was tall, with well-proportioned limbs. His countenance had a resolute expression of something more than boldness: it was ferocity. His face was blackened with charcoal dust, and he was wearing a torn garment made of bark fibres, which covered him from his waist downwards. He had no ornament either on his wrists or round his waist."⁵² He also met Kipa's brother, the aged Ndeni: "A tall, upright man, with grey hair, and very cordial manners, with a smile always on his face."⁵³ Kipa had died before Casati visited his country, but his appearance must have been described to him by Azande, for he wrote of him: "Ntikima (Kipa) was tall and well-built, with a keen and penetrating eye. He used to dress plainly, and was in the habit of blackening his face and neck with fine charcoal dust."⁵⁴

I conclude these descriptions of Zande kings and princes by travellers with a few more quotations from the writings of Belgian officers, who had, when they were taking over the country, excellent opportunities for meeting some of the more notable Avongara rulers and assessing their temperaments, characters, and abilities.

⁵¹ Casati, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 57-8.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 191.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 197.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 209.

Louis-Napoléon Chaltin in his notes describes the arrival of Mopoi, son of Mopoi, at the Belgian post of Amadis: "C'est une entrée triomphale; les tambours battent, les oliphants rugissent, les grelots s'agitent, d'autres instruments font entendre des sons de bois secs heurtés les uns contre les autres, les soldats tirent des coups de fusil. La masse s'ébranle, Mopoie marchant devant, entouré de sa cour, une cour qui obéit et marche au doigt et à l'oeil. Mais, précédant le tout, de malheureux Akaris (les anciens possesseurs du sol occupé par les Azande), portant des pointes d'ivoire et encadrés de fusiliers, d'archers et de lanciers . . . Mopoie s'avance donc, suivi de tout son monde. Il est radieux, sa démarche est assurée. Il salue profondément Devenyns (chef de poste), qui est allé à sa rencontre. Le sauvage orchestre donne tout ce qu'il peut à l'entrée de la station; le tapage est assourdissant, affolant. Mopoie tire six coups de revolver: c'est son salut. Il se dirige vers nous, s'incline respectueusement, et c'est presque agenouillé qu'il presse ma main droite entre les siennes. Je suis obligé de lui demander de suspendre l'exécution des morceaux choisis qu'à tour de bras et à coups de gosier son orchestre nous inflige . . ."⁵⁵

He sketches a portrait of Mopoi: "Mopoie est un homme de haute taille, bien découplé, aux proportions bien gardées. Son visage d'un noir d'ébène, est rond plutôt qu'ovale; il est très agréable et éclairé d'une paire d'yeux vifs et très mobiles; son regard est franc; Mopoie regarde son interlocuteur bien en face; il ne détourne jamais les yeux. Comme tous les noirs, il a des dents superbes. Il porte le costume arabe et dans des sacoches suspendues à sa ceinture se trouvent des extraits du coran. Il égrène parfois un énorme chapelet. Il m'a produit une excellence impression et a répondu avec franchise et sincérité, me semble-t-il, à toutes mes questions. Il m'a promis de servir d'intermédiaire avec Ndoruma et Mbima. Je l'autorise à faire la guerre le Nord. Mopoie m'offre un sabre de derviche. Trait de moeurs: le fils de Sasa, Torombet, neveu de Mopoie, a refusé de s'asseoir à côté de son oncle, l'étiquette le lui défendant.

"Un soldat du poste, Zande de Djabir, est venu saluer Mopoie et a déposé quatre mitakos à ses pieds. Le Sultan n'a pas même

⁵⁵ Lotar, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

daigné remercier. L'autre s'est néanmoins retiré satisfait."⁵⁶

I have earlier recorded descriptions of the aged and obese Wando. His sons Mbitimo, Ukwe, and Renzi quarreled continuously among themselves during his lifetime and brought in Egyptian Government forces, the Dervishes, and the Belgians to serve their several and opposed ends. When Ukwe died in February 1896 Chaltin, who knew him well, wrote of him: "La mort d'Ukwa débarrasse les Européens de Dungu d'un puissant voisin dont l'ambition toujours en éveil était sans limites. Il ne visait qu'à agrandir ses États et avait à ce sujet des démêlés continuels avec les autres chefs. D'après les indigènes, il avait empoisonné son père Wando et son frère Mbittima pour entrer plus vite en possession de leurs biens. Son fils Bokoyo est un jeune homme d'une vingtaine d'années, grand, bien découpé, à la physionomie ouverte et intelligente. Il aime le Blanc et l'accompagne volontiers en voyage."⁵⁷

Chaltin has also given us a portrait of Renzi, whom he also knew well: "Cet Avungura, dépeint si différemment par ceux qui ont eu des rapports avec lui, a la figure intelligente, l'œil interrogateur. Il étudie son interlocuteur, l'examine attentivement. Au physique, il ne ressemble pas aux fils de son frère Ukwe. Il a moins de robustesse, il est nerveux; les autres sont tout en chair. C'est un homme décidé et aventureux qui a été au service de tous les conquérants dont son pays a reçu la visite. Les mahdistes, il est vrai, ont usé de contrainte envers lui. Il s'engage à me conduire à Redjaf et à Lado, mais à condition que Bokoyo, dont il craint un mauvais coup, n'accompagne pas."⁵⁸

I conclude with three other Belgian portraits of lesser princes. Clément Vande Vliet says of Borongo son of Bowili and a descendant of Mabenge: "Borongo a à peu près la même taille que Suronga (a Barambo chief), mais il est plus corpulent et mieux conformé. Son regard inspire la confiance."⁵⁹ Gustin's portrait of Kipa son of Zemai and grandson of Kambisa, who was wearing a costume the Belgians had given him, is: "Grand, svelte, bien proportionné, pas lippu, le nez non épaté; moustache frisée; pas

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁵⁷ Lotar, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

de barbe."⁶⁰ Gustin says of Bendo son of Ngelia: "Gendo (Bendo) est vêtu à la mode arabe; il porte une cartouchière soudanaise. Un boy de sa suite est porteur de son fusil, cadeau de Ponthier. Il est le fils préféré de Galia, dont il est l'héritier présomptif."⁶¹

I have greater confidence in my own assessment, with which I opened this paper, of the character and ability of Zande kings and princes in that those who had the opportunity of judging them before they came under European administration are in general in agreement both with it and among themselves. It is only rarely that an individual has made a bad impression on these earliest visitors to Zandeland: one is unctuous, another brutal and hotheaded, another arrogant and a fop, another harsh and rude, and another avaricious. On the whole, however, they speak highly of them. They stress their natural dignity of bearing, unostentatious pride, distinguished air, courteous manners, cordiality, self-assurance, composure, reserve, reflectiveness, and generosity, and their intelligence and calm, sound judgment, firmness, astuteness, and prudence.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

SOME RECENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

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Under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation, two important publications have appeared. "The Yearbook of Anthropology 1955" (Wm L. Thomas, ed.) represents the first volume of a projected biennial publication which is intended to keep track of developments in the whole field of anthropology subsequent to the 1953 comprehensive summing-up issued as "Anthropology Today" (Kroeber, ed., University of Chicago). The other volume, which has resulted from an international interdisciplinary symposium, is entitled "Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth" (Wm. L. Thomas, ed. with Sauer, Bates, and Mumford collaborating, U. of Chicago, 1956).

The results of another symposium are published by J. H. Steward, et al., "Irrigation Civilizations," the first in a new series of Social Science Monographs issued by the Pan American Union. Spencer is editor of and contributor to a volume of papers in honor of Wilson D. Wallis, "Method and Perspective in Anthropology" (U. of Minn., 1954), and Gillin is likewise editor of and contributor to another interesting series of papers, "For a Science of Social Man: Convergences in Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology" (Macmillan, 1954). Interdisciplinary in nature also are two other contributions: "Education and Anthropology" (Stanford U., 1955), edited by Spindler; "Childhood in Contemporary Cultures" (U. of Chicago, 1955), edited by Mead and Wolfenstein.

The Anthropological Society of Washington marked its Seventy-fifth Anniversary by the publication of the series of lectures entitled, "New Interpretations of Aboriginal Culture History," (Washington, D. C., 1955) and followed this by presenting the lectures given before the Society during the next year, "Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied," (Washington, D. C., 1956).

The collected writings of several authors have been brought out. Carroll is editor of the selected writings of B. L. Whorf, "Language, Thought and Reality" (M.I.T. and John Wiley, 1956); and Mandelbaum is responsible for a new edition of the selected essays of Sapir, composed of nine of the best-known, under the title, "Culture, Language and Personality" (U. of California, 1956). The following two collections by the respective authors contain hitherto unpublished essays along with many which are already well-known: Kroeber, "The Nature of Culture" (U. of Chicago, 1952) and Hallowell, "Culture and Experience" (U. of Pennsylvania, 1955). A series of lectures given by Redfield appears under the title, "The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole" (Almquist & Wiksells, Uppsala & Stockholm, 1955).

Among textbooks, attention should be called to the widely adopted one of Beals and Hoijer, "An Introduction to Anthropology" (Macmillan, 1953). A newer one is by Titiev, "The Science of Man" (Holy, N.Y., 1954); and still more recent is the symposium intended as textbook and for the general reader, "Man, Culture and Society" to which the editor, Shapiro, has contributed the first chapter on human beginnings (Oxford U., 1956). "Cultural Anthropology" (Knopf, 1955) is the abridged revision of Herskovits' "Man and His Works" of 1948. Arranged somewhat differently from the usual texts are two surveys of culture history,— one by Coon, "The Story of Man: From the First Human to Primitive Culture and Beyond," (Knopf, 1954), and the other, the posthumously published volume by Linton, "The Tree of Culture" (Knopf, 1955). A description of the various aspects of anthropological study is by a British anthropologist, J. E. Manchip White, "Anthropology" (Philosophical Library, N. Y., 1955).

Teachers of anthropology will be pleased to know that the publishers have reissued Lowie's valuable monograph "The Crow Indians" of 1935 in a paperback edition at \$3.00 (Rinehart, 1956). A manual of tribal, linguistic, and racial groupings, which all students will no doubt wish to order, is "An Ethno-Atlas" (Wm. C. Brown, Co., Dubuque, Iowa, \$1.50), compiled by Robert F. Spencer.

One of the several helpful compendia which have appeared

is Sanders, Schwendeman and Woodbury, "Societies around the World: Vol. I, Eskimo, Navaho, Baganda; Vol. II, Chinese Peasant, Cotton South, English Midlands (Dryden Press, 1953). Another by Mead and Calas, "Primitive Heritage: An anthropological Anthology" (Random House, 1953), contains selections from a chronologically wide range of sources. A third is Hoebel and Jennings, "Readings in Anthropology" (McGraw-Hill, 1955).

More and more material is appearing which reflects the interest in applied anthropology and culture change. Some of the general works are: Barnett, "Anthropology and Administration" (Row, Paterson & Co., Evanston, 1956); Mead, ed., "Cultural Patterns and Technical Change" (Tensions and Technical Change, UNESCO, 1953); Mead and Métraux, eds., "The Study of Culture at a Distance" (U. of Chicago, 1953); Paul, ed., "Health, Culture and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs" (Russell Sage Foundation, N. Y., 1955).

Modern problems of two increasingly important areas are treated in the following symposia: Haines, ed., "Africa Today" (Johns Hopkins, 1955) and Thayer, ed., "Southeast Asia in the Coming World" (Johns Hopkins, 1953). Mander has compiled a great amount of information in his book, "Some Dependent Peoples of the South Pacific" (Macmillan, 1954), and Belshaw treats of a whole region in "Changing Melanesia: Social Economics of Culture Contact" (Oxford U. Press, Melbourne, 1954).

Community studies are coming from a wide variety of cultures. Among these we may list the following: Marriott, ed., "Village India" (A.A.A. Memoir No. 83, 1955); John E. de Young, "Village Life in Modern Thailand" (U. of California, 1955); E. Norbeck, "Takashima: A Japanese Fishing Community" (U. of Utah, 1954); H. Hayden, "Moturiki: a Pilot Project in Community Development [Fiji]" (Oxford U. Press, N. Y., 1954); C.P. Loomis, et al., "Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change" [Costa Rica] (Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1953); J. Gulick, "Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village" (Viking Fund Publ. in Anthropology, No. 21, Wenner-Gren Foundation, 1955); John and Dorothy Keur, "The Deeply Rooted: A Study of a Drents Community in the Netherlands" (Monographs, Amer. Ethnological Soc., No. 25,

1955); Harris, "Town and Country in Brazil" (Columbia U., 1956); Vogt, "Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a Twentieth Century Frontier Community" [S.W. of U.S.A.] (Harvard U., 1955); Colson, "The Makah Indians: A Study of an Indian Tribe in Modern American Society" (U. of Minnesota, 1953).

There are several volumes which are directed to an understanding of sub-cultures. We may mention among these: Lyle Saunders, "Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest" (Russell Sage Foundation, 1954); Hylan Lewis' study of the Negro, "Blackways of Kent" (U. of North Carolina, 1955); and Stycos, "Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico, A Study of the Lower Income Group" (Columbia U., 1955).

Those who have read Benedict's famous study of Japanese culture will be particularly interested in Stoetzel, "Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword: A Study of the Attitudes of Youth in Post-War Japan" (UNESCO Publication, Columbia U., 1955). An interesting autobiography has been recorded by M. F. Smith, "Baba of Karo, A Woman of the Muslim Housa" (Philosophical Library, N. Y., 1955), with a preface by D. Forde and an introductory chapter on the general culture by M. G. Smith.

There is a chapter on education among "primitives" in the volume by William A. Smith, "Ancient Education" (Philosophical Library, 1955), although major attention is given to the ancient civilizations, including India and China. Bruno Nettl fills a very real need by giving us "Music in Primitive Culture" (Harvard U., 1956).

Some recent ethnographic publications are: Oliver, "A Solomon Island Society: Kinship and Leadership among the Siuai of the Bougainville" (Harvard U., 1955); Elliott, "Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore" (Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 14, London School of Economics, 1955); Schebesta, "Die Negrito Asiens: Vol. II, part 1, Ethnographie der Negrito" (Studia Instituti Anthropos Vol. 12, St. Gabriel, Wien-Modling, 1954); Ronald and Catherine Berndt, "The First Australians" (Philosophical Library, 1954). A short work in the field of folklore is Clark and Williams, "Pomo Indian Myths" (Vantage Press, 1954).



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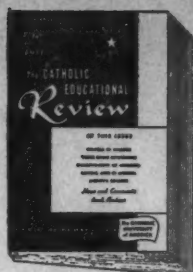
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